

Africa

SPECIAL REPORT

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VICTORY ON THE GOLD COAST
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PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE--After a lot of pre-election name calling (and violence, too--at least a dozen persons were killed, one man was arrested for spitting in Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's face), Gold Coast voters went to the polls last week to give their verdict on independence.

Out of 104 seats in the House of Assembly, early returns gave Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party 69, the National Liberation Movement 12. The Northern Peoples Party got 15, other parties, six. In total votes, CPP led, 272,834-197,992.

Great Britain has promised to set a date for independence if the new parliament can pass a resolution on the kind of government it wants by a "reasonable majority". Virtually 2/3's seemed "reasonable" enough to a good many Gold Coasters, and jubilant CPP members began preparations to lead their country to freedom. It will be the first colonial nation in Sub-Saharan Africa to make the grade. One obvious result: a big spur to African nationalism throughout much of the continent.

In nearby Nigeria (population 32,500,000), Eastern Region Premier Nnamdi Azikiwe felt his oats last week, sent off a wire to Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd telling him not to "mess up affairs of Eastern Nigeria" because "we will not stand nonsense from anybody". The wire came after a British Governor vetoed an order by Dr. Azikiwe to switch government funds from Nigerian branches of British banks to Nigerian-owned banks. Dr. Azikiwe, threatening to resign, accused Sir Alan of protecting a British banking monopoly.

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MUSICAL CHAIRS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT--Some radical changes began to emerge last week affecting American representation in Africa. The reshuffle centered around the office of George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, South Asia and the Middle East. President Eisenhower asked the Senate to allow him to send Allen to Greece as U.S. Ambassador, reportedly to help out in the Cyprus crisis. The present Ambassador to Greece, Cavendish W. Cannon, would go to Morocco as America's first ambassador to that country. In addition, the President asked confirmation of the appointment of veteran diplomat Raymond Arthur Hare to Egypt, injecting new blood into the difficult situation there. Henry A. Byroade, present ambassador to Egypt, would go to South Africa where he would succeed Ambassador Edwin T. Wailes. How

Secretary Allen would be replaced was not immediately made clear. Meanwhile, South Africa announced appointment of Wentzel C. du Plessis, high commissioner in Canada and delegate to the UN, as the Union's new ambassador to the United States. He will come to Washington in September, replacing Dr. John E. Holloway, now in England.

TROUBLE IN THE OGADEN--A thorny international problem is slowly coming to a head in easternmost Africa. Involved are Ethiopia, France, Britain, Italy, the United Nations, Kenya and the primarily nomadic inhabitants of the three Somaliland dependencies. Tensions in the area have led to bloodshed in the past, and experts fear additional trouble before present problems can be resolved.

Latest development is a statement by President Gronchi of Italy, telling delegates from Italian Somaliland in Rome that Italy wants to accelerate Somaliland's progress toward self-government. Observers interpret this as meaning Italy may relinquish its United Nations trusteeship over Somaliland well before the 1960 deadline. (Administration of Somaliland--one of Africa's poorest countries--has cost the Italians perhaps as much as \$50 million since they took over from Britain in 1950).



It is widely felt that Somalia independence will intensify the demand of the country's largest political group, the Somali Youth League, for a "Greater Somaliland", which would unite under one flag Somali-speaking people spread over an area from the French and British Somalilands south to border areas within Kenya (shaded area on map).

Key area in the dispute, however, is Ethiopia's "Ogaden", a Somali-speaking stronghold which has already been the scene of some world-shaking troubles (clashes in the town of Wai-Wal in 1934 touched off the Italian-Ethiopian war). With encouragement from Cairo Radio, Somali people, in Somaliland and Ethiopia alike, seem interested in some kind of unification, while some experts feel Ethiopia would go to war rather than accept such a move.

Even the boundary between the two countries has never been fixed on the ground; Ethiopian and Italian representatives are trying to iron this out in the UN Trusteeship Council now. Meanwhile, Sinclair is prospecting for oil in the Ogaden; if successful this will undoubtedly add to the complexities, and could draw the United States more closely into the dispute.

SOUTH AFRICA: SOME AMERICANS SPEAK OUT--An American missionary in South Africa, the Rev. Lee D. Bergsman, spoke recently before the Johannesburg Rotary Club. Rev. Bergsman heads the American Board Mission in the Union, and is considered a comparatively conservative man on the racial problem. But he had several points he wanted to make clear to the Rotarians. These were: 1) that persons working among the country's African populace are never in doubt about the existence of a "deeply rooted, underlying unrest", and 2) that better housing, higher wages, more schooling and the like will not cause this unrest to disappear.

What the Africans want most, Rev. Bergsman indicated, is a feeling of belonging, and hope. He quoted a statement made by Prime Minister Strijdom in January: "The essential point is to promote segregation in our time and the future, that the domination and continued existence of the whites will be ensured." These words, said Rev. Bergsman, were read and understood by many Africans. To them, he asked, "Is there any hope?"

SIMPLE CLAUSES: Official South Africa may tend to discount such talk of unrest, but one point obvious in new legislation this year is that it is legislation

which can serve as a further weapon to discourage uprisings or agitation. A "Native Administration Amendment Bill", hotly disputed in Parliament, puts Africans in the Cape Province under tribal authority, although many of them are town dwellers several generations removed from tribalism. Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, will evidently have increased powers over the Cape Africans, acting through the Union's ceremonial Governor-General who now becomes their "Supreme Chief".

The Bill seemed to display several faces depending on who was looking at it. Dr. Verwoerd said it contained a few "entirely simple" clauses, and would remove distrust of Africans outside the Cape by making "Native Administration" uniform throughout South Africa. The Bill's other face was seen by opponents like Leslie Rubin, one of four white men elected by Africans to represent them in the Union's 89 member Senate. Senator Rubin charged that Verwoerd "will now be able to imprison any African for a period not exceeding three months without a trial", and "no court shall have the right to question anything done, any order issued or any punishment inflicted". The Bill, he said, draws no distinction between a university graduate and a witch doctor.

Another bill, the "Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill", empowers officials in South Africa's towns and cities to expel summarily any African whose presence they consider detrimental to peace and order. In defending such measures, the Nationalist Party makes the contention that the power it is given is never abused.

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DIMES AND DOLLARS: South Africa also seems to be showing several faces on the business front. On June 25 in London, Prime Minister Strijdom said "there is no safer or more profitable field of investment than the Union". This month, an American businessman, Walter Kreiger, president of the Chicago Tool and Die Institute, expressed a different view. Kreiger made a fact-finding tour of South Africa to judge investment prospects as a representative of 500 American business men. On conclusion of the tour, Kreiger was quoted by United Press as saying:

"I wouldn't invest a dime in your country in its present circumstances."

He added that South Africa had lost "millions of dollars" in potential American investments because of its policies of racial separation and monopolies.

Nevertheless, American investment in South Africa is moving ahead steadily. This month, Spyros Skouras, president of Twentieth-Century Fox, was in the Union to complete purchase, from the John Schlesinger interests, of 144 movie houses in Capetown, Johannesburg, Kimberly, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, and Pietermaritzburg. It was understood to be the greatest property deal ever concluded in the Union of South Africa.

Meanwhile, General Motors has announced plans to spend \$5,600,000 for expansion of its assembly plant in Port Elizabeth. Another firm increasing its holdings in the Union is the Masonite Corporation of America, which has acquired control of Masonite (Africa) Ltd. and plans to expand the firm's factory in Natal. New gold mining ventures have attracted investment from three American firms, Kennecott Copper Corporation, American Metal Company and the Newmont Mining Corporation. United States investors have also reportedly bought heavily into the Rustenburg Platinum Mines in the Transvaal. Already the world's largest producer, Rustenburg expects to step up production 50 per cent by the end of the year....Also on the increase is the number of American visitors to the Union. More than 3,000 are now travelling there annually.

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AMERICAN TEACHERS FOR UGANDA--The African-run education ministry of the Buganda Kingdom in Uganda has called on the Institute of African-American Relations to help it find up to 15 American teachers as staff for an expanding secondary school program. Teachers are needed for math, geography, history, automotive engineering, agriculture, electrical engineering and building. Applications are being processed by IAAR's African Placement Service in Washington.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Africa and the Western World, Papers read by 17 authorities on Africa at the April meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia are published in the Academy's July 1956 ANNALS. (3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, 181 pp., single copies to non-members: \$2).

Review of Economic Activity in Africa 1954-1955, UN report released 12 July covers expansion in agriculture, mineral production, manufacturing and trade (Columbia University Press, 108 pp., \$1).

BUSINESS NEWS

CARGO SERVICE of the French-owned Louis Dreyfus Lines between Africa and the United States is being stepped up to a semi-monthly basis. Seven ships will provide service every two weeks between Gulf and North Atlantic ports and South Africa, East Africa and Madagascar.

INCREASING production of sisal fiber and tow in Mozambique is good news to United States users, for between 40 and 50 per cent of the Portuguese colony's output comes to America. Total production of fiber, tow and waste has risen from 40.65 million pounds in 1950 to 54.83 million pounds in 1954 and 59.75 million pounds in 1955. This last figure is the highest on record.

DRIED SKIM MILK is going from the United States to Africa in increasing quantities. Percentagewise, the biggest increase was to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

PROPOSED: A "CHARTER FOR AFRICA"

Chester Bowles, noted author, diplomat and director of the Institute of African-American Relations, proposes an American "Charter for Africa" in a book due off the University of California press in September.

Bowles would call on the Western powers for continuous aid and encouragement to Africa's colonial peoples, progressive grants of self-government, and steady progress toward allowance of full independence.

In Africa, the charter would have an electric effect, Bowles predicts. The argument that the future of Africa is "none of our business", particularly so because we cannot afford to alienate our European allies, "quickly falls apart", he contends. "We have seen enough of the political realities of Africa to know that the pace of events there can no longer be controlled by our European friends."

Excerpts from the book, entitled "Africa's Challenge to America", appear in the July 12 REPORTER Magazine.

Bowles advocates in Africa a planned step-by-step evolution from colonial rule to self-government. If it is true, as many argue, that the attitude of the colonial powers makes such an evolutionary approach impossible, then, he warns: "let us face the fact that in the next ten or fifteen years the Atlantic powers will meet with catastrophes in Africa..."

America's stake is heightened by her growing dependence on imported raw materials, the author notes. Without the mineral reservoir of Africa, "we would face formidable difficulties in a decade".

If there is anything clear in Africa by this time, Bowles observes, "it is the relentless pressure...of ardent nationalism against the explosive background of racial tensions and suspicions... The rising expectations of Africa add up to a force that cannot be denied".

Meanwhile, "Africa promises to become one of the major economic and ideological battlegrounds in the struggle between the Communist bloc and the Atlantic Alliance".

To avoid being run over and left behind by history, asserts Bowles, "the colonial powers will have to adjust themselves to the new facts of African life while there is still time".

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